

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" To horse-racing I am, personally, no more an enemy than I am to boxing; though, in making this observation, I am far from meaning to disparage boxing so far as to put them upon an equal footing; or to insinuate, that so poor, mean, and wretched an amusement as the one, is, at all to vie in importance with the other, which is so closely connected with ideas of personal merit and individual dignity." —
Mr. WINDHAM's Speech in the House of Commons, 24th of May, 1802.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BOXING. — Whether the enormously over-grown size of the metropolis has rendered indispensably necessary that anomaly in our administration of justice, that innovation upon the constitution, the establishment of **POLICE MAGISTRATES**, receiving a considerable salary, and removable at the pleasure of the Crown, or, in fact, at that of the minister of the day; and, whether, supposing such necessity to exist, the commissions of those magistrates ought to have been so extended as to enable them to act as justices of the peace through the whole extent of the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent and Surrey, and thereby putting into the hands of the minister the means of obtaining, in each of those counties, a decided preponderance as to all matters usually settled at the general Quarter Sessions, including, of course, the appointment to the county-offices and the selection of persons to be engaged in county-contracts: these are questions, which may, upon some future occasion, be thought worthy of the attention of parliament. But, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the necessity of the establishment in question, or as to the propriety of so widely extending the sphere of its influence, none, one would think, can possibly exist as to the nature of that influence upon the execution of the law. It is not meant to make any insinuation, or to leave any impression, injurious to the character of the gentlemen, who have been selected to fill the offices of Police Magistrates. But, it cannot be denied, that the establishment has greatly tended, and indeed, must tend, to give to the execution of the law, as far as regards the common people, a sharpness, a severity, heretofore unknown in England. Men in the constant habit of hunting through the labyrinth of robbery and thievery; of selecting the besties of the strumpet and extracting the secrets of the assassin; of witnessing scenes of the last degree disgraceful to humanity; — in short, in proportion to their zeal, how severe. They do not forget, that they ought to discriminate; but, they do,

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and they naturally must, adopt, by degrees, a principle of discrimination, which, though, in some respects, well suited to the metropolis, is certainly unsuited to the rest of the kingdom, over which, however, little by little, this their principle is extending; and, if we consider the weight they derive from their talents; from the constancy of their employment, and their consequent experience; from the professional aid they have always at their command; from the regularity, with which all their proceedings are conducted; from the number and variety of their decisions; from the circumstances of their having been selected by, and of their acting immediately under the eye of the government; from their being at the seat of fashion as well as of power; and, above all, from the publication, the wide diffusion, of the accounts of whatever they say or do in their offices, together with the praises (I will not call them puffs) so plentifully bestowed, on some of them at least, by the sages, to whom is committed the task of instructing the nation by the means of that powerful engine, the press: All these duly considered by us, we shall not be surprised, that their practice is very fast becoming the practice of the country-justices, some of whom, for want of gangs of pick-pockets and bairves of strumpets, on whom to inflict chastisement, have shown their zeal in applying the severity of the law to men boxing for a wager and to girls running for a shock; — insomuch that all athletic and rustic sports, every exercise requiring great bodily exertion, and tending, under the name and the feeling of pastime, to strengthen the frame, and to produce hardihood and valour, seem to be doomed to extirpation, and that too, by the instrumentality of those very laws, under the mild spirit of which they have so long flourished and so long contributed to the forming and the preserving of that at-once resolute and amiable character, for which the people of England have ever been distinguished. — These remarks I have regarded as not an unsuitable preliminary to a conclusion of the subject, begun in page 193, and continued, in an extract from a

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work of Dr. Bradbury, in page 371. If the reader has, with an ordinary degree of attention, perused the articles here referred to, he will have perceived, that much does not remain to be said in defence of the practice of boxing, especially after the statement of incontrovertible facts, for which the public are indebted to Dr. Bradbury.— As to boxing, in general; as to being considered as a mode of terminating quarrels amongst the common people, Dr. Bradbury not only perfectly agrees with me, but he has, as the reader will have perceived, produced numerous and most apt and striking facts in support of his opinions. In short, he has clearly shewn, that, unless boxing is revived in those parts of England where it has most declined, cuttings and stabbings will, in a little time, become as prevalent in those parts as in any of the countries, whose manners, in this respect, we have been accustomed to regard with the greatest horror. The only question, therefore, that remains to be decided, is, *how* is the practice of boxing to be revived where it has declined, and, where it has not declined, to be cherished and preserved? The answer is, by making the practice *respectable*; and, it would be odd indeed, if it were to acquire respectability in a way different from that in which respectability is obtained to every other practice and science. Dr. Bradbury simply says, without stating his reasons, that he would have no *prize-fighting*, none of those contests, in which men engage for *gain*. But, he seems not to have considered, that gain is not the *sole object*, which the combatants have in view; he seems not to have recollect ed, that gain, of some sort or other, mixes itself, and must mix itself with all the motives that lead to eminence in any of the almost infinite pursuits of men. A desire to lessen the ills of human nature can scarcely be looked upon as the sole object of the physician's or the surgeon's studies: the divine, looking up to the mitre will hardly forget that its possession is accompanied with riches: the lawyer may burn with a love of justice, but it will not be very eagerly contended, that he entirely overlooks the harvest of fees: the soldier and the sailor, I mean the officer, fights for his king and his country, for fame and glory, but does he not look forward to something in the nature of *reward*, to some *prize*, to something which is, as a matter of course, accompanied with pecuniary acquisitions? What is the mode pursued, when we want to revive or preserve any art or science or pursuit? The giving of *premiums*, or *prizes*. Sometimes we give them in the form of medals

or of cups; but, these are not made of lead or tin; and the gold medal ever signifies a greater degree of merit than the silver one. Yet, we must not conclude, that *gain*, the *mere lucre*, is scarcely ever the principal object of the persons endeavouring to obtain any of those prizes. We must look upon the prize merely as the *mark of merit*; and the contest will, then, fairly be considered as important in proportion to the value of the prize. But, indeed, so obviously useful are prizes for the purpose of reviving & keeping up, in its perfection, a practice like that of boxing, that Dr. Bradbury himself *proposes the adoption of "prizes at wakes and public amusements for the encouragement of those who excelled in sparring with mufflers."* With due deference, however, to this gentleman, I must say, that I think such a scheme would entirely fail of success. Sparring with mufflers is one thing, and boxing is another. Those who learnt the *former*, would not, when they came to fight in consequence of a quarrel, think themselves bound by the laws observed in their combats with mufflers.— So right as Dr. Bradbury is as to the principles, upon which the practice of boxing is founded, it is almost impossible, that, from his own mind, any suggestion unfavourable to prize-fighting should have sprung. Men, even of great talents and, as to motives of interest, perfectly independent, are, nevertheless, frequently led to act upon the opinions of others; and, I cannot help thinking, that, to some cause of this kind, we ought to attribute the inconsistency which appears in this part of Dr. Bradbury's essay. He wishes to see boxing revived where it has declined, and preserved where it still exists in its former state; and, I think, the reader will be of opinion, that, if there is no boxing for prizes, there will be no other boxing, where the laws, the generous principles, of that combat will be observed. Why are horse-races established by law? Why are prizes given to the owners of winning horses? Not merely that there should be races, at such and such places, and that there should be gambling and pocket-picking and all manner of profligacy carried on for three or four days successively; but, that the breed of horses should be kept up; that there should always be some of the *best* for racing, and, that there should always be a supply of *good ones* for general use. Men now pride themselves upon having a good horse; upon his capacity of going swift; upon his having some *blood* in him; and all this with reference only to the races. The proof that the same observations

applicable to boxing is found in experience. How comes boxing to have declined, and, in some parts of the kingdom, to have been nearly lost, but because contests between persons fighting for fame and profit have been suppressed? Why does it now seem to be reviving, but because, in spite of the combinations of puritanical persons (some of them in places of power) such contests have, of late, been more prevalent? It is the fame acquired by these contests, which contests never fail to attract general attention and to excite a deep interest, that teach people to think the thing respectable, and which diffuses a knowledge of, and gives effect to, the laws in those contests established. To talk of suppressing *public contests* of this kind, as *barbarous* and *brutal*, and yet to suppose that boxing, as a mode of deciding *private quarrels*, will continue in use, is to discover but a very small degree of reflection upon the tendency which public spectacles have upon men's conduct in private life. But, those who will have the notions of barbarous and brutal attached to this practice, might find, in truth, much more to say in favour of their opinion, if the practice were confined *wholly* to the decision of quarrels, than when the practice is mixed, and is partly used as the means of revenge upon an adversary, and partly as a trial of skill and *manhood*, according to the good old phrase. The object is to exclude *bitterness* and *rancour* from contests, as well as to limit the extent of the mischief; and, nothing will do this so effectually as the example and habits of men engaging in these contests perfectly without enmity, and whose great study it is, with a view to their own success in each particular instance, and their general eminence in the art, to keep their breasts free of all irritation and passion. One of the fine characteristics of the art is, that passion, that is to say (ill-will and vindictiveness) is adverse to success in the contest itself, and that to harbour ill-will after it is over is, by its laws, rendered odious and disgraceful. Amongst persons of a refined education, one can easily conceive, that this sort of generosity will always be kept up; but, let any one shew me, if he can, any other means than those of prize-fights, of supporting it amongst the common people. From the grand boxing-stages, the proceedings of which are, and always will be, amply promulgated, emanate the laws, by which men are governed in the decision of their private quarrels. The laws if we ought to apply so dignified a term to (a paltry a pastime) of cricketing are handed down to, and are observed, by the very children who are seen under the trees in

Saint James's Park bowling at a hat. From Lord's Cricketting Ground extend all over the nation the principles and rules of the game, as well as the fame of the players; and, I will venture to say, that the name of *ELDAN* has created cricketers, not only upon the skirts of the Holt Forest, where he was born, but in every part of the kingdom; and, be it observed, by the way, that the persons engaged in this game, contend for *prizes*, and that *ELDAN*, and other poor men who are eminent players, are always paid for their time and for the use of their talents. If, then, prize-matches and the fame arising from them, do so much in this case, what must they not do in the case of boxing, where the fame is of so much louder a voice, where the powerful feelings are all so deeply interested, and where the personal merit is so much greater! Indeed, Dr. Bradsley allows, that, "It has been asserted, by those qualified to judge, that, since the late diffusion of the knowledge of the pugilistic art, by *itinerant practitioners*, amongst the northern inhabitants of the kingdom, the mere exertions of *brutal strength and ferocity* have somewhat fallen into disuse, both as exercises of pastime, as well as means of offence and defence." After such an acknowledgment, is it not wonderful to hear him conclude with recommending prize-matches *with mufflers*! And is it not still more wonderful to hear him condemn prize-fights (where alone these itinerant practitioners have learnt their art) as brutal and ferocious! — The other exercises of the common people, conducing to bodily strength and hardihood, and, through hardihood, to bravery, should not be forgotten. Boxing, wrestling, quarter-staff, and single-stick, were all once in great vogue in the several parts of this kingdom; and they have all declined, not because the nation has become more *civilized*, as it is called, but because it has, unhappily, and from causes evident enough, become more *effeminate*. The tendency of them all is the same; their necessary effect is to produce trials of bodily strength, and thereby to create strength; to render strength valuable in the eyes of the people, and thereby to produce great exertion of it; to teach men to bear great bodily pain, and to bear it with patience and even with good humour, and, amongst the common people, this is the great foundation of military bravery; it is the very reverse of effeminacy, which word is descriptive of that assemblage of degenerate feelings, which make men cowards, and which gradually prepare a nation for slavery. — These truths are so evident, they have been so completely established by experience,

that the only objection which some of our adversaries have urged against prize-matches is, that they draw the people from their work; that they produce "*idleness* and *rioting*." As to the *idleness* produced by prize-matches, a better answer cannot be found than what is contained in the reported speech of Mr. Windham, from which my motto is taken. "I regret," said he, "that many gentlemen should be anxious to deprive the lower orders of their amusements, from a seeming apprehension, that, if they are suffered to enjoy those recreations, they will no longer labour sufficiently, and may become, from their improvidence a burthen to those rates, to which the rich must contribute. This is a most inconsiderate way of thinking, and I caution the rich against acting upon it. The efficient part of the community for labour ought to be encouraged in their exertions rather by furnishing them with occasional amusements, than by depriving them of the few that remain; for, if to poverty be added a privation of amusements, I know nothing that can more strongly goad the mind into desperation, and more directly tend to prepare the poor for the adoption of those dangerous sentiments, the fatal effects of which to the state need not be dwelt on. Independent, therefore, of the injustice of encroaching upon the few small amusements of the poor, I beg the House to consider the consequence of rendering them discontented or dispirited, by leaving nothing for them but the wide waste of labour. The reason why our labourers perform so much more work than slaves is obvious; because they feel, that they work for themselves; and, according as their profit, or their prospect of pleasure, which is the same thing, is increased, just so does their labour usually increase." These are the expressions of true wisdom, and of real friendship to the people and to the throne. Never was any thing truer than the old saying, that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy;" and, accordingly, all wise legislators, and, indeed, all legislators, till of very late, have taken care to reserve a certain, and not inconsiderable, portion of the year, to be devoted to rest, leisure, and amusement; and, the most dangerous of all the changes that the predominance of commerce has introduced, is the disposition so very prevalent amongst the rich, to leave the poor no leisure or amusement at all. You find, in almost every village, especially where the great manufacturers have a *factory*, a sort of superintending master, who, when once established,

as to the affairs of the poor. Sometimes this system assumes the garb of religion, at other times of charity, but the pretext is, in general, to encourage *labour* and *economy*. There is frequently, as in the case of Lord Mulgrave (who distributes *prizes*, the newspapers say, amongst his cottagers to encourage them to labour and to live economically) much good intention that mixes itself with this prying propensity; but, his Lordship, yielding to the first emotions, excited by the contemplation of poverty, does not take time to reflect, that it is not in his power, nor in the power of all the rich men in the kingdom, were they to unite and co-operate, to prevent the existence of poverty, or, upon a *general scale*, to diminish its quantity, without such a change in the state of things, as I am certain he does not wish to see effected. All that individual compassion can do, in this way, and all that it ought to attempt, is, to administer relief as far as the party administering is able; but always with a little of reproof, with as little even of admonition, with as little of the dictator as possible, and never, upon any occasion, with a condition, either as to labour or good-behaviour, on the part of the persons relieved; for, the moment such a condition is proposed, the gratitude ceases, and thus, that which might otherwise be accomplished by the benefaction is pretty sure to be prevented. But, when the condition extends to a deprivation of pleasure (for, let refinement say what it will, wakes and prize-matches afford *real pleasure* to the people), then the benefaction becomes an affront, which, though it be not openly resented, will always be remembered, and, when occasion serves, become the ground of action. — As to the "*rioting*," to which prize matches give rise, this rioting is a word, of the double meaning of which a very great, a very general, and, let me add, a very unfair advantage has been taken. Rioting means *noisy mirth*, in which if there be any harm, some apology will certainly be necessary for those who see the plays, or hear the speeches, of Mr. Sheridan; but, a similar noise (for a horse-laugh has always the same sound, whether issuing from the lips of a lord or from those of a labourer) heard at a prize-match, it calls forth the application of the term rioting, in its legal, in its *criminal* sense, whereby is conveyed the idea of a number of persons assembled together for some purpose of *sedition*, or of violence *against the peace of the realm*, and *against the crown and dignity of the King*! Was there ever so glaring a perversion! Was there ever such partiality of



construction! No; it is not amongst those who delight in prize-matches, that persons of a discontented and seditious turn of mind are found. That such scenes tend to produce hardihood; that they cherish an admiration of great bodily strength and of great fortitude under bodily suffering; that they tend to make men set a high value on their personal merit; that they, thereby, keep alive an independence of mind, and render the possessors unfit for the trammels of slavery, was before observed, when it was also observed, that, "if you render the whole nation effeminate; if you suffer no relaxation from labour or from care; if you shut all the paupers up in work-houses, and, if those that are not so shut up, you work in gangs, each with its driver; if you do this, it is evident that you will have no internal commotion; it is evident, that you will hold the people in complete subjection to your will; but, then, recollect, that they will be like the ass in the fable, and that they will stir neither hand nor foot to prevent a transfer of their subjection to another master." Indeed, as far as *plotting* and *conspiring* will go, they will be very likely to aid in such transfer. They will make no noise; no *turbulence* will be discovered amongst them, but it is amongst such people that you may always look for the origin of *treasons*. Very wide indeed is the difference between the disposition and the feelings which produce resistance to real oppression, and those which produce gloomy disaffection and lurking conspiracy against the person or office of a king; the former naturally inhabit a manly and generous mind, and the latter as naturally inhabit a mind of a contrary stamp; to the former we owe all the glorious efforts that have been made to preserve the liberties of our country, and to the latter all the disgrace which disloyalty and treason have, at any time, brought upon the English name.

FAMILY QUARREL.—As both the Pitts and the Addingtons now seem to have dropped this subject, we shall, at present, have no occasion to revive it; but as circumstances *will come*, that will compel us to revive it, it will be useful to have the close of their disputes upon record; and, for this purpose, I now insert the following article from THE TIMES of the 3d instant, to which I beg the reader's attention, as well as to the few observations, that it appears to me necessary to subjoin to it.—" As an evening paper, whose misrepresentations on the causes of Lord Sidmouth's resignation we have so often had occasion to notice, has professedly said its last word, we de-

sire also to have a word at parting, and first to submit the following specimens of its consistency to the observation of the public;—" The real cause of Lord Sidmouth's retirement from office, was "the desire to dictate, and dominate in the cabinet, particularly on some naval and military questions." Vice Courier, July 17.—" An attempt is now making to form an administration of the Addingtons and the Prince's party, with a reversionary promise to the Foxites. This is the secret of Lord Sidmouth's retreat." Vide Courier, July 19.—" Lord Sidmouth's real motive for resigning, was the non-appointment of one of his friends to a particular office." Vide Courier, July 29.—" The real fact and truth is, that they resigned, because they were disappointed in their expectation of getting certain places." Vide Courier, August.—This writer then proceeds to state, that they (the Addingtons) are reluctantly brought to acknowledge, that because it was intimated to Lord Sidmouth, that arrangements for some of his friends, which had voluntarily been proposed by Mr. Pitt, could not be carried into effect, on account of the conduct of those gentlemen in parliament, on questions relating to Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth's continuance in office was rendered impossible." Instead, however, of reluctantly acknowledging, we have always distinctly avowed, that the mode thus adopted, of requiring unconditional submission on the part of Lord Sidmouth and his friends, upon all questions respecting Lord Melville, was the chief and immediate cause of Lord Sidmouth's resignation. This intimation was first given, not only after Mr. Pitt was apprised of Mr. Bond's intended motion of the 11th June, but in consequence of his knowledge of such an intention; and it was repeated immediately after the memorable motion of Mr. Leycester. The threat, however, was lost upon the friends of Lord Sidmouth, and they discharged their duty with fearless integrity. The declared determination to execute that threat, was justly resented by Lord Sidmouth, as involving conditions for his continuance in office, insulting to his feelings, disgraceful to his character, and utterly destructive of the means of being useful to the public: conditions, the more offensive and unwarrantable, because they were in direct violation of a reservation made by Lord Sidmouth previous to his connexion with the government, and ac-

" quiesced in by Mr. Pitt; viz. that his acceptance of office was not to be considered as in any degree fettering his conduct, or that of any of his friends, upon such points as might arise out of the reports of the Naval Commissioners, or with respect to the commission itself. It is therefore evident, that if Lord Sidmouth and his friends would have concurred in screening Lord Melville, those differences would not have arisen which produced his lordship's resignation: that "the rupture was occasioned by the aversion they felt at being called upon to follow Mr. Pitt through his measures relating to Lord Melville;" and that they preferred an honourable retirement, to the attainment or the continuance of official rank and emoluments, at the expense of their own honour and consistency, and in violation of their parliamentary duty, and the claims of public justice.—We will only add, that it was our wish to treat with silent contempt such attacks as those which we have so repeatedly, and, as we are convinced, successfully repelled; but we know that the grossest falsehoods too often obtain credit, if they are suffered to pass without contradiction. We are incapable of employing such weapons as those with which we have had to contend; but to the basest calumnies, the foulest misrepresentations, and the most direct and positive falsehoods, we have uniformly opposed facts, which must be felt, and may be railed at, but which, we know, cannot be disproved."—The reader will have observed, that here is a new fact, of some importance, come out. It is positively stated, that a threat was communicated to the Addingtons, previous to the motion of Mr. Bond, that, unless they desisted from pursuing their course, with regard to Lord Melville, they should be turned out of the ministry! This is the plain sense of what is here stated, and, as the statement has remained uncontradicted, we have a right to regard it as true. This certainly makes a very material alteration in the case. I have waited to see, whether the Pitt and Melville papers would contradict it; and, I have observed, not without some surprise, that they have made no attempt at such a contradiction. The whole of the representations, on both sides, is now before the public; and, it should be frequently referred to; for, it will be of vast importance when we come to hear the discussions that must take place in a few months, probably in a few weeks time. That the breach is irreparable there can be no doubt; the

odium of a rejunction would be too great even for the Pitts and Huskissons to support. The youth of "Spartan virtue," might, indeed, bear up, or rather crawl along, under it; but, I am sure it would be too much for any one not capable of suffering his sisters to subsist (according to the statement of the "*PLAIN REPLY*") upon the eleemosynary grants of the man, whom he was in the daily habit of contemning, and whom he was constantly endeavouring to deprive of that power, in virtue of which the said grants were made. In this contest for power, it must be confessed, that though the Addingtons do not stand so clear of all suspicion as their friends could wish; yet, that, compared with that of their rivals, their conduct has been manly and upright. There wants much explanation upon the subject of the title and the pecuniary grant to Lord and Lady Melville, and there is yet great obscurity hanging over the conduct of Mr. Bragge, respecting the putting a stop to Mr. Trotter's practices; and I can by no means bring myself to look upon the apology, set up by some of their advocates, of their having acted under the influence of Mr. Pitt, as satisfactory; but, again I say, that, compared with the Pitts and Cannings, they come out solid gold. They have obtained a decided triumph over the whole of that set of "young friends," by whom they were abused only, as it has since appeared, because they were put in possession of those offices and powers, to which the "young friends" looked upon themselves as the only legitimate heirs.

THE WAR.—The principal theatre of the war is, it would seem, from the nature of the preparations making here, as well as from the movements of Russia, to be on the side of the Mediterranean. The plan may be good enough; but, if the borders of the Mediterranean should become the chief seat of the war, how plainly will men then see the fatal consequences of the peace of Amiens; or, rather, perhaps, of the conduct of that war, which, according to the statement of its defenders, rendered that peace *necessary to this country!* By that peace all our possessions in the Mediterranean were given up, and, in the war, no proper use was made of them. What might not have been done in the Mediterranean, if Toulon had not been abandoned, in order to pursue conquests in the West-Indies; in order to pursue a *treacherous* Breeches oak-jac of that profound statesman Mr. Dundas, to whom the country was, as it now appears, under so many other obligations at

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the same time? Nay, even after the abandonment of Toulon, what might not have been done, if due advantage had been taken of the disposition still existing in the South of France, Spain still being in alliance with us? We had then all the harbours of the Mediterranean open to us, with the single exception of Toulon. All the countries upon its shores friendly to us, though, certainly, less disposed to act, after the example of our desertion of them at that port. Of all these advantages, the sole that now remains to us (for even that is not an acquisition as to our use of it) is the harbour of Malta. Every other port is shut against us (except possibly Sardinia) and every other shore hostile. Yet, in these circumstances, upon this remnant of his ample stock in trade, is our grand shop-keeper now going, in all appearance, to open shop in the Mediterranean, in speculation of a business, which he before abandoned as a losing concern, when, for the purpose of carrying it on, he was in full possession of all the advantages above recited! Nothing can mark more strongly the contrast of the last war to the present; I mean in the circumstances in which we are placed; for, as to the manner in which it was conducted, we may safely defy all that the present, or any other, ministry can do, to exhibit misconduct that can come in any competition with it. There is not room, or opportunity in any war, now to be carried on, to show such complete misjudgment, views so false, so mean, so groveling, as those which guided the last war from the beginning to the end. Look at Mr. Pitt in the greatest crisis in which statesman was ever placed; possessing the greatest powers, which statesman, in this country, at least, ever possessed; with the ablest advisers, telling him beforehand, with perfect exactness, how he ought to proceed; and then, look at what he did! He neither could decide nobly and grandly at the outset; he could neither be made to see the thing justly at the beginning, nor, when experience had made him feel the error of his first judgment, could he ever bring himself to retrieve it, or break through that circle of mean and petty policy, in which the faults of his character, if not of his understanding, had originally involved him. The last war always puts me in mind of the curse upon the Serpent (though the subtlest beast of the field): “upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life!” However high the personal ambition of Mr. Pitt may soar, there is a downward propensity in his policies, which will never suffer him to rise;

and, even if he were to endeavour to do it, what opportunity has he now left to himself? He has done the mischief. He has depressed the country to a state, from which it can never be raised, by any means, which he will or which he *can*, have resource to. There must be such a change in our system of politics, and especially of our *political economy* as he never can propose. Without this change, I am thoroughly convinced, that England will never know another hour's real peace or safety; and, I repeat it, this change Mr. Pitt never can propose. The very proposition would utterly destroy that which he has chosen for the foundation of his fame. The opinion now entertained of him by the thinking few, would communicate itself, with the swiftness of lightening, to all those who have never yet taken time to reflect. This he well knows, and he goes on hoping, in his usual way, to stand by the influence of those means, which he has hitherto so amply and so successfully employed.—Our spirits are now to be kept up by the prospects of success upon the continent; but, if that success come not? If the war should linger two or three years, without producing any material impression upon Buonaparté? If a peace, including the surrender of Malta should be concluded, without wresting from France any part of her conquests? What will *then* be our prospect? What will it be, if Austria should be defeated, and if Russia should be humbled? What will our prospect *then* be? And, these are not impertinent questions; but, such as every rational man, who wishes well to his country, will ask. The ministers' news-papers tell us of the hundreds of thousands of Russians and Austrians that are marching; but, can they tell us, whence are to come the subsidies to maintain them? Will any one of them, or all of them together, undertake to prove, that, with only our present expenses, we can, with our present system of funding, support the war, for five years? And, will they venture to tell us, what are the means they, or their chief, have fallen upon, to meet the effects of a financial deficit? Unless they can do this, very little hope will any sensible man derive from the assistance to be obtained upon the Continent.

PARTIES.—From the change of language, so very evident, in the Pitt and Melville news-papers, within these ten days or a fortnight, it is not improbable, that some scheme may again be on foot for wheedling the Opposition into a junction with the Pitts and Melvilles. Some persons exclaim, “impossible!” What! Mr. Pitt flee for suc-

cour to Mr. Fox! Mr. Pitt, at the end of a twenty year's warfare, thus knuckle down to his rival! Thus acknowledge him his master! — Alas! these persons do not know Mr. Pitt yet; and still less do they know of his underlings, who would not only excuse, but justify, and even applaud, such an act; and, they themselves would cheerfully take their places, move downwards, and eat their crust in quiet, under the inferiors of Mr. Fox. — No, no: it is by no means impossible, or improbable, that Mr. Pitt will make the proposition; but, I think it quite impossible, that it should succeed. It would, even in the spring of 1804, have been very doubtful, whether the Opposition ought to join him; but now, there can be no doubt at all. The proceedings of last winter have put it out of the power of any one to join him, who wishes to have any share of the confidence of th' part of the people, who disapproved of the conduct brought to light by the reports of the naval commissioners. — So hard is Mr. Pitt pressed, however, that I shall be very much deceived, if he does not try the scheme. His views will be somewhat of the same sort as those which he entertained last year; but, he did not succeed in them then, and he will not now. He was then compelled to seek the aid of the Addingtons, after having tried the Opposition twice; but, as there are no Addingtons now left for him, his tone and attitude will be lower than before. Last year there was, his creatures told us, "an insurmountable obstacle, in *a certain quarter*, to the admission of Mr. Fox." It would be curious enough, if *that obstacle were now to be overcome!* Let the public mark the sequel; for, if it be true, that the parliament is to meet for dispatch of business early in November, the scheme, which, from the softened tone of the Pitt and Melville papers, is certainly on foot, must be tried very soon; and, I do not think that the Pitts and Melvilles will a second time endeavour to *divide* the Opposition. — In the mean time, the "Right Honourable Charles Long" (the gentleman who conveyed the forty thousand pounds of the naval money to Mr. Boyd) is, we are informed, appointed Chief Secretary in Ireland, in lieu of Mr. N. Vansittart, who was appointed to that office, but who resigned with his friend Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth. This is as it should be. Where there are Pitts and Melvilles and Huskissens and Canning and Old George Roses, there should be nobody of another stamp. They are made for one another; and, it is much better that the nation should

go on under their clutches exclusively, than that others should come and take a share with them. When they, left to themselves, will bring matters to a close, we can calculate with tolerable accuracy; but, if they were to be propped up by the talents and reputation of others, there would be no principle whereon for us to calculate.

LORD MELVILLE. — Some fresh communications respecting the proceedings of the partisans of this person having just reached me, I think it better to defer the exposition of the whole to the next sheet. — The passage in the *Welsh Judge's charge* is very curious indeed; and, will, doubtless, be thought worthy of particular attention.

Botley, Thursday,
19th Sept. 1805. {

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note transmitted by Baron de Hardenberg to the French Minister, M. Laforet, dated Berlin, July 11, 1805.

The undersigned Minister of State and of the Cabinet, with the deepest regret finds himself under the necessity of communicating to M. Laforet, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Note which M. Novosiltzoff has addressed to him, upon returning him the French passport (the original is hereby annexed); at the same time announcing to him the order which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has transmitted to him, in consequence of the recent changes in Italy, and especially the union of the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire, not to proceed upon his journey to France. His Majesty could not but feel the greatest concern in seeing thus confirmed the fears which, from the moment the intelligence of that unexpected event transpired, it was impossible not to entertain, respecting the effect which it might produce on the salutary negotiation which it was under deliberation to open. The earnest desire which His Majesty has always cherished, and of which he has given repeated proofs, for the restoration of peace, is the strongest assurance of the sentiments of concern with which he is affected upon the occasion. — The undersigned has the honour to offer to M. Laforet the renewed assurance of his high consideration. (Signed) HARDENBERG.

NEUTRAL COMMERCE. — *Letter from the Consuls of Neutral States resident at Cadiz, to Admiral Collingwood; dated Cadiz, July 23, 1805.*

Sir, — In answer to your excellency's letter of the 19th instant, directed to the neu-

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trial consuls residing in this port, we beg leave to assure you in the most honourable manner, that none of us have received any kind of information from our respective ambassadors at the Court of Saint James's, nor from those residing at the Court of Madrid, respecting the notification of the blockade of this port, and San Lucar, under date of the 18th April ultimo, which your excellency is pleased to mention. Your excellency certainly knows, that at the same time that Danish, Swedish, and Imperial vessels sailed from this port in ballast, not being able to find freights, other vessels of the same, and other flags, especially Americans, sailed with cargoes to sundry places, and that we would have prevented them doing so, had we had any idea that other dispositions besides those contained in Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde's letter, were about to be adopted by his Britannic Majesty's forces. As the vessels of our respective nations are loaded, and having come into this port without the least notification from any of his Britannic Majesty's vessels, we flatter ourselves that your excellency will not hinder their going with their own and neutral property to their respective destinations. In this your excellency will do an act which will evince the justice with which the English government and its naval officers treat the property of their neutral friends. Your excellency will please to observe that there are neutral vessels actually in this bay, that arrived about the middle of May, at which period it was impossible they could have known the official communication which your excellency alludes to of the 18th of April. Inclosed we hand your excellency the original documents of the Portuguese schooner, alluded to in our former Letter, for your excellency's government.— We have the honour to be, &c. &c.— Signed by the Portuguese, Danish, Prussian, Imperial, United States, Russian, Consuls and Agents.

Dreadnought, off Cadiz, July 25, 1805.

GENTLEMEN,—I very much lament the inconvenience, or loss, which the subjects of neutral states may suffer by the suppression of the Spanish trade, in the ports of Cadiz and St. Lucar. But his Majesty's order for its prohibition having been publicly notified, and sufficient time given for its general promulgation throughout Europe, ere it was acted upon by his squadron before Cadiz, I cannot, notwithstanding the most sincere disposition I have at all times felt to give every security and facility to the lawful trade of neutrals, allow the ships which have received cargoes on board since my arrival upon this coast, to proceed on the voyage

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with them. If there were any impediments to the regular notification of the measure by the respective ministers, I am sorry for it; but the appearance of the squadron off this port, and their having, in view of it, turned off to other ports all neutral ships which approached with the purpose of entering it, were sufficient indications of the service they were employed on, and so clearly marked Cadiz and St. Lucar to be blockaded ports, as they are defined in the existing treaties, and particularly in the convention of Pittsburgh, in June, 1801, that no doubt could remain, or other notification be necessary. These ships, many of which were Americans, that had received their cargoes, or a principal part of them, before my arrival here, I have allowed to proceed on their voyage; for it is the trade of Spain alone that I would interrupt: if neutrals are involved in it, and their interests in some degree suffer, it is an accident that I regret, but cannot prevent. Those that were in port may now depart in ballast; but the American brig which entered on the 20th, in breach of the blockade, will be seized whenever she comes out, though she may be in ballast. The complaint of the master of the Portuguese schooner, I find is too well founded; you may depend I shall take proper notice of it with respect to the officer; and measures, that I hope will prevent the recurrence of such a conduct in future, towards those who in their lawful pursuits are entitled to kind offices, rather than harshness and severity, and unjustifiable treatment. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. (Signed), CUTBE. COLLINGWOOD. P. S. I have ordered the notice in the Portuguese Papers to be altered.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.—Extract from the *Gazette of Frankfurt*, of the 18th of August, upon the Note published by M. Novosiltzoff, previous to his departure from Berlin, Berlin, July 16.

The arrival of M. Novosiltzoff at Berlin excited considerable interest throughout Europe. That journey will be considered in history as little better than a serious comedy, with a farcical conclusion. The note which this minister presented by way of apology for the suddenness of his departure, is even a greater object of curiosity, than the levity of his proceedings; and if it were allowed to indulge in pleasure upon a subject involving the happiness of mankind, many instances could be pointed out in the conduct of M. Novosiltzoff, which prove that he was qualified to perform the part of an arrant coxcomb.—He announced himself as the

bearer of a pacific mediation, and the public journals rang for six months with the reports of his journey. He at last presented himself as commissioned to open a negotiation; all the world applauded this happy disposition; France received it with ecstasy; the passports which he requested for France are without any previous explanation sent to him, and at the moment that the hopes of Europe were highest, M. Novosiltzoff, without having made any overture, without having mentioned a single proposition, without having even demanded a conference, suddenly quits Berlin, declaring that he is no longer authorised to negotiate. He does more, and this confession enables us to judge of the sincerity of his mission; he declares that he is not authorised to negotiate, either with the Emperor of the French, or with the King of Italy, or with the actual Sovereign of Genoa, but with the head of the French government. We really know not how to call this diplomatic reserve. Without doubt, if his excellency had been satisfied of the complete submission of the Emperor of the French to the absolute commands of Russia, he would feel himself authorised to grant him a title which Europe has acknowledged, and which needs no further confirmation. The reservation in the note of M. Novosiltzoff does not, nevertheless, appear the less imprudent to all impartial and candid persons; it certainly will have no influence upon the determination of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not a man to sacrifice things to words, and who weighs proceedings according to their due estimate. The illustrious Emperor of the French well knows that a century is not yet elapsed, since one of his august predecessors refused to give the Autocrat of Russia the title of Majesty, and would only allow him that of Highness; but as he wishes for peace, he will not argue with the Emperor Alexander upon this historical proof of the newness of his family. Napoleon judges of men by their personal merit, and judges of Sovereigns only by the importance of their states. It is not the less surprising that a Monarch, animalized, according to the declaration of M. Novosiltzoff, by so sincere a wish for peace, should begin by calling in question the principles by which social order and the tranquillity of states are protected. The political confusion which prevailed in France, appeared for a long time the only reasonable cause which could obstruct the pacific intentions of powers, and furnish an excuse for their unmeasurableness and coolness: they could wish for nothing more conducive to their vital interests, than to treat with a govern-

ment analogous to their own, which should at the same time assume the majesty of regular authority, and acquire all its solidity. But what extravagance has the Russian cabinet, losing sight of this principle, involved itself in that ambiguity of expression, in that confusion of qualifications? There must be then in the views of Russia an interest paramount to the general interest of Europe.—What could have been the real obstacle to the negotiation? Was it the nomination of the Emperor Napoleon to the sovereignty of Italy? But he previously governed it under another title. The title of King cannot be offensive to princes, more than that of President of a Republic. Was it the union of Genoa? Genoa was already under the natural protection of France; the treaty of Luneville left it at perfect liberty respecting the choice and form of its government; and besides, the interest, the free will of two nations, which unite with each other, are above all treaties.—In reading the observations of M. Novosiltzoff upon the temporary changes which have conditionally taken place in Italy (changes which have added nothing to the continental strength, which have in no degree altered the situation of France), one finds difficulty in believing that they should proceed from a court whose power has assumed a political form so different, and aggrandized itself so prodigiously, which seems to have revived the ancient influence of Turkey to add to its own; which advances with a rapid and steady pace equally in the Asiatic and European provinces of that tottering empire; which has openly put itself in possession of its commercial and political advantages, and to which, to become the absolute master of it, nothing is wanting, but to erect the Russian Eagle upon the mosques of Constantinople. The style of this note appeared no less extraordinary than its substance. It is easy to discover in its exaggerated complaints against the power of France, the seal of England, anxious to wrest from her naval port, and dispute with her the liberty of the seas; who thinks that she can no longer preserve her tyrannical power but by re-kindling war upon the Continent. This extraordinary style is not suited to an independent state. Great surprise was particularly excited, that the negotiator should dwell so carefully upon the efforts and sacrifices of England for the general tranquillity. Such an apology would have appeared, in the mouth of any other person but M. Novosiltzoff, as the most bitter sarcasm upon the breach of the treaty of Amiens; upon the massacre on board the Spanish frigates; upon the plots and the corruption which

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England continues to maintain on the Continent, for the purpose of renewing war and revolution.—Some awkwardness, therefore, was discovered in the note of M. Novosiltzoff. We are justified in suspecting, that under the guise of an ambassador, he was, in fact, only the emissary of a faction; and it is thought that the personal opinion of the Monarch went for nothing in this pretended mediation, in which courtesy and good sense were so far lost sight of, that a mission, the object of which was a negotiation for peace, began with an insult to the august person to whom it was addressed.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Jerome Buonaparte, Capitaine de Vaisseau, commanding a Division in the Mediterranean, to his Excellency the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board the Pomona, Genoa Roads, Aug. 31, 1805.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—I have the honour to announce to your excellency that the mission with which his Majesty was pleased to charge me has been happily fulfilled. The division under my orders has anchored in the Port of Genoa, having on board 231 slaves, all in good health, as well as the crews. In two days I shall disembark them conformably to the instructions I have from his Majesty. The City of Algiers and the neighbouring places enjoyed at the epoch of my departure a perfect state of health, according to the declaration made to me by M. Dubois Thainville, the Emperor's Chargé d'Affaires.—This expedition would have been more promptly terminated had I not been forced to go to Toulon, by unavoidable circumstances, of which I had the honour to render an account to your excellency, in my dispatch of the 11th instant.—I was not long detained, thanks to the care and activity of the maritime prefect. In seventy-two hours the division was in a state to set sail again, and to pursue its destination. I had expedited, two days before, the corvette L'Abeille, under the orders of Captain Eydonx, to inform the Commissary-General of Commercial Relations, at Algiers, of my approaching arrival, and the object of my mission. I had at the same time, written to him, instructing him to negotiate before-hand, for the liberty of the slaves, in order that I might by this means avoid the difficulties and delays which I might otherwise experience.—I got under weigh from Toulon on the 14th inst. at ten in the morning, with a brisk wind at N. W. I directed my course for Mahon, where I hoped to meet with some of the enemy's cruisers. I passed it a league without seeing or visiting

any vessels, except neutrals and allies, amongst which was a Ragusan, 22 days from Gibraltar. I learnt from the Captain that Rear Admiral Bickerton, with five ships, was at that time employed in refitting and taking in provisions, and that Lord Nelson was cruising before Cadiz.—On the fourth day after my departure from Toulon, I arrived at Algiers. The corvette L'Abeille had arrived 48 hours before me. M. Dubois Thainville, immediately on the receipt of my letter, had endeavoured to set on foot the negotiation with which I had charged him, but had been stopped by difficulties which it was out of his power to remove. The Dey was little disposed to acquiesce in the demands which M. Dubois Thainville had made; he was not disposed to comprise in the number of slaves which I claimed those who had been taken at Oran, and who for more than twenty years had been in the power of the regency. He observed, that having been made prisoners whilst fighting under the Spanish flag, they ought not to participate with the others in the same favour, and besides, that the request had been refused to France at several times. He added, however, that for the honour of the Emperor's brother, he would consent to give up to me 30 of those slaves.—I replied to the Dey, through the medium of M. Dubois Thainville, who had come on board La Pomone to render me an account of what he had done, that it was not my intention to fulfil the mission by halves, with which I had been entrusted by his Majesty; that the thirty slaves which he had offered me were not sufficient, but that I must have all the French, Italians, and Ligurians, whom he had in his power, and that if my proposition was not acceded to within 24 hours, I should make no other propositions to him, and should break off all negotiation.—The next morning I received a favourable answer, and in the evening I received on board the squadron 231 slaves, which the Dey had ordered to be delivered to me, contrary to the custom of the country, after sun-set.—I set sail again the same evening, the 20th; on the 25th, twelve leagues to the N.E. of Mahon, I saw a frigate nine miles to windward, the wind was shifting to N.N.E. and blowing fresh, the sea ran extremely high. Under these circumstances I could not hope to come up with the vessel, which kept the wind on her starboard quarter. Two other sail coming in sight at the same moment, I determined to chase them, as they were to leeward.—I manœuvred the squadron for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of these vessels, in case they should have the advan-

tage in sailing. I lost sight of one of them, a frigate, in the course of the night. The other, which I soon came up with, was an American, from Leghorn to Boston. The captain informed me, that the evening before, he had met with two English frigates. I presume that they were the same which I had seen, and which had escaped in consequence of their position. I continued my course, and after five days of calms and slight winds, I arrived in the road of Génoa this day, at six in the morning.—Please to accept, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.—J. BUONAPARTÉ.

FOREIGNERS AT VIENNA.—Circular Note to the Magistrates of the different Bailiwicks, relative to the Residence of Foreigners; dated Vienna, July 20.

An official letter we have just received from the President of the Aulic Police informs us, that several foreigners, furnished with passports by their respective ambassadors, left Vienna since the disturbances which took place on the 7th and 8th instant; and circumstances induce us to believe, that those foreigners have taken a more or less active part in them, and that the fear of just punishment has made them take flight.—In consequence, therefore, of superior orders, it will be necessary to watch, with great attention, strangers, and in general all persons who have left Vienna after the period of the said event, whether they have passports delivered them by the foreign ambassadors resident in Vienna or not. Proper measures are directed to be taken to arrest such persons, and send them, without delay, before the police of Vienna. It is therefore enjoined to all magistrates of bailiwicks, as their particular duty, and upon their responsibility, to use the greatest diligence to discover all persons suspected, and to adopt both themselves and their deputies in each parish, the necessary arrangement to examine the passport of every foreigner coming from Vienna, and passing through their province. In case such an individual shall have no passport, or a passport delivered on the 7th July or later, he is to be arrested immediately, as if he had refused to produce his passport; and whatever be his rank, he is to be sent in irons, and under a sufficient escort, to this city. Every magistrate is to understand, that wherever there shall be a military force, it is duly required to lend assistance; and that in places where there is none, the escort is to consist of a sufficient number of trusty persons, under the command of the gendarme of the bailiwick. If the arrest takes

place in a village, the arrested person is to be delivered to the bailiff. The same orders are given to all postmasters who, as well as the magistrates, will expose themselves to the severest responsibility, in case it shall be discovered that they shall have failed to arrest a suspicious traveller, and that such traveller shall escape; or in case they shall not have used all possible measures to cause him to be arrested.—Given at the bailiwick of the Circle of Tabor, July 19, 1805. (Signed) J. HIKIRSCH.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA.—A Proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor, NUGENT, relative to the Importation of Provisions, &c. from the United States of America: dated 26th May, 1805.

Whereas it appears, by the memorials and returns from sundry parishes, that there is at present a very general scarcity throughout the island of American provisions and lumber, and that a real and urgent necessity exists for my exercising the discretionary power vested in me by his Majesty, relative to the intercourse between this colony and the United States of America: I do therefore issue this my proclamation, permitting, for the space of six months, to be computed from this date, the free importation of flour, corn, corn-meal, bread, rice, pease, beans, and lumber of every description, in vessels belonging to neutral and other states in amity with Great-Britain, upon the like terms, charges, and conditions, and subject to the same rules, regulations, visitations, and searches, as are observed with respect to British vessels in the like cases.—And I do hereby also permit all vessels importing the foregoing articles, under the authority of this proclamation, to export from hence rum and molasses, from any port or ports, place or places, of this island, upon the like terms, stipulations, charges and conditions, as are observed with respect to British vessels in the like cases. And in case any person or persons importing provisions or lumber to this island, under the authority of this proclamation, shall attempt to introduce any other articles than are therein particularly enumerated, measures will be immediately adopted for the forfeiture of the ship or vessel and cargo, so contravening the laws of navigation.

JAMAICA.—Speech of the Lieutenant-Governor, NUGENT, to the House of Assembly: made on the 2d of July, 1805.
GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL, MR.

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MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—The late declaration of martial law in this island, and the circumstances which attended it, have induced me to convene you once more, notwithstanding the regret which I feel in calling you from your homes after so many interruptions to the attention due to your private concerns, but I trust that your meeting will not be of long continuance.

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—I am confident that you will cheerfully make such provision for the payment of the expenses incurred by the assembling of the militia, the establishing of depots of articles of subsistence and ammunition in the interior, and other necessary measures which have been adopted for the security of the island, as those services may require.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL, MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—Although I have no certain information of the present situation of the combined forces of the enemy, yet the arrival of a British squadron at Barbadoes, in pursuit of them under the command of Lord Nelson, on the 4th of last month gives me reason to expect that they have left the West-Indies; and I trust that the preparations made here to receive the enemy had they presumed to have attacked us, will give you great confidence of success against any attempts they may make in future.

Answer of the House of Assembly.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to thank your Honour for your speech at the opening of this session.—The necessity of declaring martial law, and the consequences attending it, having induced your Honour to call us together again, we most cheerfully obey the summons, confident that our meeting will not be of a longer continuance than the exigencies of the country may require.—We will take into consideration the expenses incurred by the assembling of the militia, the establishing of depots in the interior, and such other measures as have been adopted for the security of the island, and will make such provision for them as the public faith, and the existing circumstances of the country, render necessary.—From the arrival of a British squadron in the West-Indies, under the command of Lord Nelson, and the time which has since elapsed, we have great satisfaction in concurring with your Honour in the belief that the enemy have left those

seas, and our hopes of success, had the combined forces attempted to invade us, are greatly augmented by the preparations made by your Honour for our defence.

Answer of the Lieutenant-Governor.

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—I beg you will receive my best thanks for this address, and for the assurances which you are pleased to give me, of making the necessary provision for the expenses incurred during the late martial law.

BULL-BAITING.

[The following article is the former part of the pamphlet of Dr. BRADSBY; the latter being inserted in p. 371 et seq.—I differ from him as to *bull-baiting*; but, I shall reserve my reasons for that difference, till the reader has had leisure to peruse the Doctor's remarks; for, if our cause cannot be supported by fair argument, fairly employed, it will not prevail, and it ought not to prevail.—I will just add here a request, that the reader will well consider the apology made for *hunting*.]

Human nature is so constituted as to require both bodily and mental recreation. This instinctive propensity to amusement in man, is sufficiently proved by the universality of the appetite, in every stage of life, under every variety of clime, and constitution of government. But the regulation of this natural propensity differs greatly according to the circumstances under which he is placed. The recreations and sports of mankind are therefore diversified by the influence of moral, political, and physical causes. The means of gratification are various and complex: the end simple and uniform. To escape from the sensations which may be induced by too great or too little exertion of body or mind, and to enjoy the pleasure which sympathy extracts from the varied intercourse with fellow man, give rise to that fondness for public diversions and sportive contests, so conspicuously displayed in the history of mankind. The influence of physical causes, in regulating the nature of these diversions, may be readily conceived.—The hardy, strenuous and active amusements of the inhabitants of the temperate and frigid zones, would depress and exhaust, rather than enliven and invigorate, the residents of a torrid clime. Hence the supreme delight of the Asiatic consists in the enjoyment of those pleasures which are purchased with little fatigue of body, or agitation of mind. To inhale the grateful fumes of his pipe, and to soli his adorer in the strata-

gems of chess, or other sedentary games, constitute the principal part of his amusements.—Although physical causes necessarily circumscribe the sphere of man's active pursuits, yet they have much less control than those of a moral and political kind. Man is endued above all other animals with a frame and constitution which can adapt itself to every diversity of clime and change of temperature. He can, in a measure, subdue physical obstacles, when powerfully stimulated by moral and political causes. The savage, compelled to hunt his prey for food, has little leisure to cultivate his intellectual taste and powers. If not exposed to danger from hostile neighbours, his recreations are mostly of a negative kind. He is happy when idle and at ease. But if he be stimulated by the prospect of war, all his amusements tend to accomplish him for carrying on successfully his military exploits. His songs are praises of the heroes of his nation; and his dances are connected with martial discipline. The public shews and festivals of his country are, almost without exception, of the character of savage war.*

—According to the degree of civilization will the public sports and amusements of a people partake more or less of the mixed character of corporeal and mental recreation. A display of the arts which refine and gladden life, can only flourish where the condition of man has been long meliorated by the enjoyment of moral and political advantages.—Indeed the kind and nature of the popular sports and exhibitions of a people, whether just emerging from barbarism, or passing through the various stages of improvement, or arrived at the highest pitch of refinement, serve to measure, as by a scale, the different degrees of their advancement to the acme of civilization. The two most powerful and celebrated nations of antiquity, Greece and Rome, afford ample proofs of the truth of this remark. The shews and public sports of each of these nations, while they issued from their character and man-

* The savage tribes of America furnish various proofs of the truth of this remark. Likewise in Collins's account of the natives of New Holland, there is a curious illustration of the propensity of a rude and savage people to those amusements which are adapted to their peculiar situation. Indeed the singular and ludicrous ceremony of initiating youth into the rank of warriors, at the celebration of their military exercises and games, is a striking instance of that disposition to amusement, which even the most savage and wretched state of life cannot eradicate.

ners, operated on this very character and manners, and rendered them more ardent and permanent. This connection between the character of a people and their sports, was forcibly impressed on their legislators and rulers. Their public games were instituted for other purposes than mere amusement and relaxation. They were rendered subservient in Greece to the noblest views of legislative policy. Intimately connected with the whole system of government, whether civil, military, or religious, they had a moral as well as a political tendency. To promote ardour, emulation, friendship, patriotism, and all the animated principles and connections of active life, the Olympic, and other solemn festivals, were instituted. In order to investigate some of the moral and political effects of these popular sports and public games, which contributed so largely in raising the Greeks and Romans to a height of unparalleled grandeur, it will be necessary to examine the foundation of a system, which, in some respects, when freed from its worse abuses, particularly those which the more ferocious character of Rome introduced, may not illaudably nor unusefully be imitated by the most civilized nations.—Though it may, perhaps, be admitted, that the difference in the state of knowledge and general policy, in the ancient and modern world, will not admit of a close approximation in the system of their public sports and amusements; yet the principles to which the Greeks directed their attention in controlling popular amusements, deserve the limited imitation of every free and enlightened people. For, their aim was to direct to innocent and useful objects, two of the most powerful principles of the human breast;—the love of pleasure and the love of action. Hence arose the institution of the *gymnastic exercises, which formed the principal part of all the solemn games. The gymnastic art consisted in the performance of bodily exercises calculated for defence, health, and diversion. That branch of these exer-

* Lycon, according to Pliny, first instituted the gymnastic games in Arcadia, whence they were extended throughout Greece and successively contributed to the highest gratification of both the Greeks and Romans, in their private schools and public solemnities.—They were performed in the Gymnasium, where not only youth were instructed in these exercises, but also the philosophers taught their different doctrines. The Palaestra, which formed a part of the building, was the school for the gynnic exercises.

exercises, called the athletic or sportive, must be considered as coeval with the formation of society.* The five † gymnastic exercises, so accurately described by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pausanias, formed the principal branch of the education of youth.—To be enabled to excel in the performance of these, they were trained with the greatest care; and every means was employed to excite powerful emulation. Their object was, to recreate and strengthen the body, as well as fortify and exalt the mind. For, the firm organization acquired by perpetual exercise, counteracted the propensity to vicious indulgence, which a voluptuous climate naturally inspires.—They likewise infused a courage depending on animal strength and怒, which was excited to the highest pitch among this warlike people. ‡ Besides, the ambition of honest fame (the sure reward of excellence in these sports and contests) taught them to control the appetites of the body by the affections of the soul.—But the chief aim and end of the institution of athletic gymnastics among the more warlike states of Greece, were, perfection in the military character. Their philosophers inculcated this doctrine by their precepts and example. Plato, in his book of laws, after having viewed the high importance of acquiring bodily force and agility, adds, “a well governed commonwealth, instead of prohibiting the profession of the athletic, should, on the contrary, propose prizes for all who excel in those exercises, which tend to encourage the military

* In almost every island of the great Pacific Ocean, we find a similarity, more or less striking, in the athletic and warlike exercises of the natives, with those practised in Greece.—† These five exercises were called Pentathlum by the Greeks, and Quintertium by the Romans. They consisted of leaping, running, throwing the Discus, darting the javelin, and wrestling; but instead of darting the javelin, others mention boxing. The last exercise was combined with wrestling; and then took the name of Pancratium. See Hieronymus Mercurialis, *de arte gymnastica*; and Potter's *Archæologia*.

‡ *Hac arte, Pollux et vague Hercules
Ininxus, arces attigit igneas.*—*Hor.*

“Thus mounted to the towers above,

“The vagrant hero, son of Jovs.”

§ Such as gained victories in any of these games, especially the olympic, were universally honoured, and almost adored.—See Plutarch's *Sympos.* lib. 11. *Quest.* VI, and Potter's *Archæol.*

art.” And, perhaps no better plan could have been contrived to foster a warlike spirit amongst a people devoted to military enterprise, than the training of youth in these hardy and laborious exercises, and in proclaiming rewards for those who excelled in their public exhibition. If man were only destined to conquer and triumph over the weaker and less valiant of his race; if the lust of dominion were the only appetite worthy of gratification, then the cultivation of bodily prowess and ferocious courage would properly form the business, as well as pleasure of life. But man has a nobler part to act in society; and enjoyments more pure, lasting, and better fitted to the dignity and character of his nature, become necessary to his well being in an advanced stage of civilization. It may readily be conceived, that those arts which soothe and embellish human existence, and which depend on the cultivation of feeling and of taste, would be neglected by the Greeks, when only bodily strength, activity, and address could carry off the palm of victory. In the distracted state of the first settlers in Greece, when the bodily energies were constantly in action, courage and personal strength decided the day in most of their military conflicts. Hence courage became associated with every idea of patriotism, honour, and virtue. It is the opinion of Aristotle, “That the nations, most attentive to the formation of the body, strive to give it too athletic a habit, which injures the beauty of the shape, and stunts the growth of the person. The Lacedemonians avoid this error; yet, by imposing excessive labour on the body, they engender ferocity in the mind, thinking this conducive to martial spirit. But mere warlike courage, taken separately by itself, is a doubtful and defective quality, and, cultivated too assiduously by the hardening discipline of toils and struggles, will degrade and debase the man, blunt his faculties, narrow his soul, and render him as bad a soldier as he is a contemptible citizen.”* This necessity of rendering the gymnastic art subservient to nobler pursuits, was felt and acted upon by the Athenians, and other polished states of Greece.—The cultivation of poetry and music was encouraged by bestowing the highest honours and rewards on those who excelled in these delightful arts at the celebration of all the public games. To such a happy combination of mental with corporeal excellencies, cherished and displayed under the most pompous and fascinating appearances in their popular diversions and

* Gillies's *Antest. polit.* p. 250.
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solemn festivals, may the splendid achievements of this distinguished people be attributed.* Considered in the light of affording amusement, exciting generous emulation, and of creating robust and hardy citizens, endowed with energy to resist slavery at home, and enemies from abroad, the gymnastic exercises, with some exceptions, and under proper regulations, are worthy of the admiration and imitation of all free and civilised states. But there was another kind of popular sport, common to the less polished states of Greece, and which has been practised by mankind, not only in the rude and barbarous, but (to the disgrace of humanity) in the most advanced and polished period of civilised life. This amusement depended on the contests of ferocious animals, whose natural antipathies were made use of, and designedly enflamed to gratify a depraved and barbarous taste. "They delight," says Lucian, (speaking of the Greeks,) "to behold the combats of bold and generous animals, and their own contentions are still more animated." The savage ferocity inspired by the frequent repetition of such barbarous exhibitions, accounts in some measure for the conduct of the Ephori of Sparta, who, when they declared war against the Helots, ordered that the young bull-dogs should be employed in worrying these miserable slaves. To the Greeks may be attributed two barbarous diversions which have

* Montesquieu is of opinion, that the want of employment for the majority of the citizens, compelled the Greeks to become a society of athletic and military combatants; for, he observes, "they were not permitted to follow the ordinary occupations of agriculture, commerce, and the baser arts; and they were forbidden to be idle; consequently, their only resource was in the gymnastic and military exercises." But this assertion is contradicted by the practice of some of the Grecian states. We know that in Athens commerce was highly esteemed and successfully cultivated. This writer must therefore be understood in a restrictive and qualified sense, when he says, "Il faut donc regarder les Grecs, comme une société d'athlètes et des combattans."—Montesquieu de l'esprit de loix liv. IV. chap. VII.—The Pancratium, in which the antagonists voluntarily threw themselves on the ground, and annoyed each other by pinching, biting, scratching and every kind of savage attack, ought not to be endured in a civilized country.

been eagerly adopted by succeeding nations. The fighting of cocks, and the diversion of bull-fights. The former was first introduced by Themistocles, as a religious festival: it soon degenerated into a sport for the gratification of avarice and cruelty. The latter had its rise in Thessaly, and was afterwards transported to Rome by Julius Caesar.*—To Greece, Rome was indebted for almost every institution of popular sports and bodily exercises; but the Romans carried them to a height of splendour and magnificence unknown to their first inventors. The Circus and Amphitheatre of Rome, exhibited, on a scale proportioned to the immense extent and power of the nation, all the popular sports† celebrated at Grecian solemnities. In their gymnasia, youth were likewise carefully instructed in the gymnastic exercises, and likewise the athletic combatants trained up for public exhibition: but the barbarous policy of the state, or rather the rude and ferocious manners of the people, gave rise to the alliance of bloody shews and combats, with manly sports and exercises. A gloomy and ferocious superstition, operating on the minds of a people inured, like the Romans, to foreign warfare and intestine broils, suggested the practice of shedding the blood of captives, as a grateful sacrifice to the manes of illustrious warriors. This practice, at first a superstitious rite, became a ceremony of more pomp and ostentation at the obsequies † of distinguished persons. Hence the origin amongst the Romans of the profession of a gladiator—and when the people had once acquired a taste for bloody exhibitions, the detestable spectacle of gladiatorial combats was presented for their amusement.

(To be continued.)

* See Pegge's *Dissertations on Cock-fighting* in the *Archæologia Britannica* and *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*.

† The Ludi circenses, or Circensian games, included all the diversions of the Circus, viz. The Penthalum, or Quinquerium, chariot races, Pyrrhic dance of the Greeks, to which were added sports of Roman origin. The Naemachia, or sea-fights, and bloody combats of gladiators, and the contests of ferocious animals with each other and with man.

‡ The first shew of gladiators was instituted by Marcus and Decius Brutus, on the death of their father, in the year of the city 490.—See Keen's *Antiquities of Rome*.